571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
764 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

532 /74 cont./ After the subjection of the princes of South
778 Celebes in 1905, this period of the tomanurung had passed,
612 however. Tomanurung were thought to deceive and to disturb
669 the peace. They were no longer given an opportunity to create a federation. In spite of this, however, the belief in the tomanurung did not disappear.

It may be that the Kapala of Bontoramba counts on the possibility of a tomanurung appearing who will unite his presently well-integrated group with a number of neighboring groups into a federation. The group from which the ornament of the federation is derived will, as a matter of course, have the leadership. The Kapala is prepared for this. The image is, as it were, an ornament in statu nascendi /in the nascent state/.

The Sacred Spot of Borongloë

778 A five-minute walk from the head's house leads to a
773 grove, the so-called "Flat Rock," (batu lappara') of Borongloë (3). On it /75/ stood, according to the myth, the

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3. Many call the rock batu napara', which according to Matthes' dictionary (p. 635) means "a smooth rock with the bottom part in the water; a rock that is stretched out flat."

ancestral couple of the present-day head's group of relatives, at the moment when they made their final statements to the people prior to ascending to heaven (1).

1. Friedericy relates this myth in his own words in his dissertation. See there, pp. 506 ff.

643 669 /121 cont./ The prince is regarded as the person of purest blood and as the possessor, to the highest degree, of the personal qualities which the Makassarese expect from a leader. If a prince satisfies both these requirements, he would seem to be in a position to conduct a policy directed at increasing his territory and the number of his subjects.

If a prince does not satisfy these requirements, there frequently occurs a schism within the realm which begins in the royal family. The conflict between the person who formally is the rightful heir because he is the oldest son or because he is considered to be of the purest blood and, on the other hand, the person who possesses the best personal qualities is frequently already present at a succession to the throne. Such a schism constitutes a threat to the prince. The power that his kingdom can exert outwardly remains small. For in that case, his efforts are still merely directed at maintaining his position within his realm. A classic example of this is the fraternal war in Sidenreng in 1831 and the succeeding years.

Eerdmans (1) clearly indicates the reasons that led to the

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1. The quotation which follows here is taken from an important unpublished note concerning the history of the government of Celebes and the dependencies from the pen of the retired Assistant Resident, A. L. A. F. Eerdmans, who died shortly before the Japanese invasion. Other quotations from the same note, following below, will be indicated by "Eerdmans." It is hoped, that it will still be possible to publish the part of this work that was spared

1:Chabot--160 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

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/121 cont./ in the war. Publication of the work had been decided upon before the war, but had not been carried out.

battle: "From the preceding it appears that La Pawawooi Mohamad Ali, Prince of Sidenreng, a very old man, had always faithfully upheld Dutch interests and had performed many and important services for the government. When his son, Petta Tjambange, married the Wadjo princess, Mapalakae Aroe Maenge, it was decreed that the son that might be born from this marriage would be successor to the throne of Sidenreng.

175 643 669 "From this union was born La Patongai, Datoe Lampoele, who accordingly was presented to the administration at Macassar as successor to the throne, and recognized by decree. Datoe Lampoele, however, was a restless, adventurous person, whose actions and conduct caused offense in many respects. Moreover, he was greatly attached to Bone. /122/ One thing and another led to the fact that his grandfather, the old Prince of Sidenreng, became more and more estranged from him. The latter developed an increasing affection for a son of Petta Tjambange from a second marriage to We Nomba Daroe /sic/ Pamana, called the La Pangorisang, whom he decided upon as successor to the throne. Datoe Lampoele did not want to relinquish his claims to Sidenreng's throne and began to court the support of the Princess and prominent persons inside and outside of Sidenreng even during the final years of Mohamad Ali's life. Furthermore, he was able to count definitely upon the support of his father-in-law, Datoe Mario-ri-awa, and a number of prominent people from Wadjo and Bone. On the other hand, La Pangorisang had many followers of his cause among the great of Sidenreng, the Wadjo kinsmen of his mother, Datoe Pamana. Furthermore, he received support from the Prince of Barroe (Topatarai Soemagaroeka), his later father-in-law, as well as from the Princess of Sawitto and Rappang.

175 /122 cont./ When the old Prince of Sidenreng died on
643 November 7, 1831, and La Pangorisang made his appearance
669 as the new prince, a fraternal war soon broke out" (1). And

1. Eerdmans, pp. 515-516.

later:

"Through our intervention, La Pangorisang had been reinstated in 1835 in the districts taken away from him during the war. He had been reconciled with Datoe Lampoele, who was permitted to settle in Sidenreng. Quietly, however, he hoped for help from Bone in order to attain his goal sooner or later: Sidenreng's throne. Consequently, Sidenreng remained divided into two parties hostile to each other" (2).

2. Eerdmans, p. 520.

662 Signs of opposition are to be found on each level in a
557 multiplicity of forms. The system of followers strengthens
571 the position of the combatants. The striving is directed at beating a superior with the help of as many inferiors by way of followers and as many equals by way of confederates as possible. One tries constantly to become the highest among one's equals. A certain unity of territory is always maintained in the struggle; opponents and allies are found by preference among one's neighbors. In this way, the entire Makassarese-Buginese country, each kingdom, each adat community, each kampong, and even each group of relatives, as well as each family with more than one man, is potentially a theatre of battle.

/123/ In each of these groupings, several individuals strive for more power within the territorially limited opportunities existing for them. In so doing, they are always faced with the competitive efforts of their equals among each other. For if someone, in a certain situation, believes that

175 /129 cont./ It was only then that the government very
177 gradually began to place emphasis upon other personal
643 characteristics of the prince. The qualities which up to that
648 time had been regarded as very important for him by the Makassarese now became less so. On the one hand, the government deprived a forceful personality of the chance to conduct a policy of expansionism, and, on the other hand, it supported a weak personality whenever he was threatened in his dignity by neighbors or kinsmen.

175 Only then did the opposition in the form described by
177 Kooreman disappear, as it existed between the Prince and one
643 of his most prominent relatives who, together with a large
669 number of followers, built up power within the realm without the Prince's interference. In Kooreman's description, this state of affairs seems to be a phenomenon inherent in Makassarese society. At the same time, followers are described as good fighters who have no objection against a sword fight. Lower heads -- and with them all their subjects -- are also to be found among these. The silent endurance of the kampong residents who had to suffer from /130/ this counterforce is explained by pointing to the high blood of their leader whereby only a complaint registered with someone still higher, thus the prince, could have success. This is quite aside from the direct threat which is presented by such a group.

Finally, the prince himself did not act either in numerous similar cases when complaints reached him. Rather than risk a defeat through which he could lose his entire dignity, he tolerated this power within his kingdom. The leader of such a group made his appearance everywhere. As a close kinsman of the prince he also appeared in the palace. No such power groups existed when an active and forceful prince was the ruler, one who could lead his closest kinsmen by his personal qualities and who knew how to direct their energy for conquests outside his own territory. A small local "terror" of an otherwise dedicated follower of the prince was not held too much against him.

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements.
It became apparent that they were not safe before the administration officials if someone had registered a complaint about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose between submission to the rules of the new order, which the government upheld, and resistance against this same government.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having been forced completely into the defensive and having been labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end of men like daëng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around 1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

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1. "In the second quarter of the year mentioned (1915), the number of robberies increased disquietingly through the appearance of a number of notorious gang leaders in the former province of Goa. Among these leaders there belong Tolo and his dreaded lieutenants, Basareng, Baso Patjiro Daëng Mapata, (constituting part of the Goa royal family) Radjamang,

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title, although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare. We have already seen how people from the common class are addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations, called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of various objects, such as long krises, guns, shields, badju rante = coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that according to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden
793 image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
778 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular, are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this succeeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.